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which includes the ritual killing called 'ritual dismissal' (Kamui Iomande), after the ceremonial slaying of the young bear there are, in addition to the four *inau* mentioned, four variants of the same offered in the Nibutani district, and the skull is (or was) permanently stuck up. Two of the *inau* differ in that they are adorned with evergreen bamboo grass, or twigs of a species of fir (*Abies Sachalinensis*, Ainu, *hup-ni*, Pl. II, fig. 2), Shirikura inau. The other two, similarly decorated, have a special *inau* fixed to the top.

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An interesting object, known as the *inumba* (beer-straining) *inau*, is seen in Pl. II, fig. 3. There are the usual nine wings but instead of a bevelled face there is a cup-like cavity in the top. It is made of willow.

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Wen (evil) *inau*, so called because their task is to repel or expel evil spirits responsible for sickness or ill luck, are also called *nitue* (hard) *inau*, because they deal with *nitue kamui*, each of whom is regarded as a 'hard case'. They are of *shutu* form but shorter, about eight inches high, and have a vertical slit for a mouth, no cloak of curled shavings and only four wings. They are grouped in multiples of three, the Ainu 'perfect number'. When a female medium (*tusu*) has diagnosed an evil spirit as responsible for a severe illness, eighteen of them are employed. Plate II, fig. 4, shows a group with a taller one at the chief (*sepane guru*). Here he has a flat head like some effigies of *kamui*, and a headdress and belt of curled shavings. Some elders provide him with a sword, and he may have a face or merely a black rag tied round the head.

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The trees from which the *inau* for evil spirits are made are credited with special magical power. One is the thorn or arrow-bearing tree, *Acanthopanax ricinifolium*[1] (*ai-ush-ni*). Those most commonly used are the elder, and alder, the species being the Sambucus latipinna (*soko-ni*) and Alnus hirsuta (*kene-ni*). The Ainu used to regard them as natural enemies of evil spirits. The elder is sometimes called in prayer Moshiri Kiyanne Kamui, Spirit Elder of the World.

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In this connection the use by Japanese farmers of an *inau* made from elder is worthy of note. Plate II, fig. 8, comes from a village somewhere between Tokyo and Yokohama where in the first decade of this century I did some archaeological excavations. Farmers

given to the Ainu. Metot-ush Kamui was believed to be a deity who lived at the top of a high mountain and was the head of all Kim-un Kamui.—H.W.

[1] See footnote, p. 30.

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EFFIGIES

Kando, his place in the sky. Then revived and reinforced by the united powers of *ramat* and mugwort, the god vanquished all his enemies.

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532 Another effigy made of mugwort resembles a cross in that the two legs are not formed. It is not usually called a *kamui* but *ifuna-rep*, a searching thing. It can be made anywhere without ceremony and has no curled shavings, but a heart of earth is bound to it with grass. It is used to find lost objects such as a knife dropped in the woods, and is said to be very successful.

[776] A *shutu inau kamui* of elder wood, similar to Ramat-tak Kamui, is called Ifunara Kamui and is employed in the home with the usual ceremonies to find people lost in the wilds. I have been told of adults and children who were found owing to the guidance given by this *kamui*.

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532 The group shown in Pl. VIII, fig. 4, was made for me by Rennuikesh at my urgent solicitation. The man is called Penup Tono, Chief Penup and the bird Penup Chikap, Bird Penup. Together they are known as Penup Kamui, a most formidable combination. A kind of swallow-wort (a *cynanchum*) is known as *penup* in the north, where alone, so far as I know, the *kamui* takes this [278] form. Swallow-wort is a powerful drug and has a reputation for intrinsic magical power; here it is called *ikema*. Just after Rennuikesh had made the Penup Kamui for me and I had photographed it, the son of my house servant became very ill from cellulitis of [791] the neck. A woman medium, who had no doubt heard of what we [755] had been doing, pronounced the sickness due to the indignation of Ikema Kamui, and an elder was sent to my house to perform the rite of exorcism. I knew nothing of this until I had operated and the child was recovering. Being afraid that this incident might interfere with my study of Ainu culture I called the elder who, though most friendly to me, was positive that I was partly responsible for the illness. The truth was that Rennuikesh had been so much afraid to use swallow-wort in the making of these figures that I had allowed him to use another root of similar appearance. [795] Later, in the house where he was staying, Rennuikesh performed [782] a regular worship for five *pase kamui* with the correct prayers and libations. It is typical of the genuineness of his beliefs and the kindness of his character that he did this for the benefit of his host and his family, but that he did not mention it to me. I heard of it later from his host.

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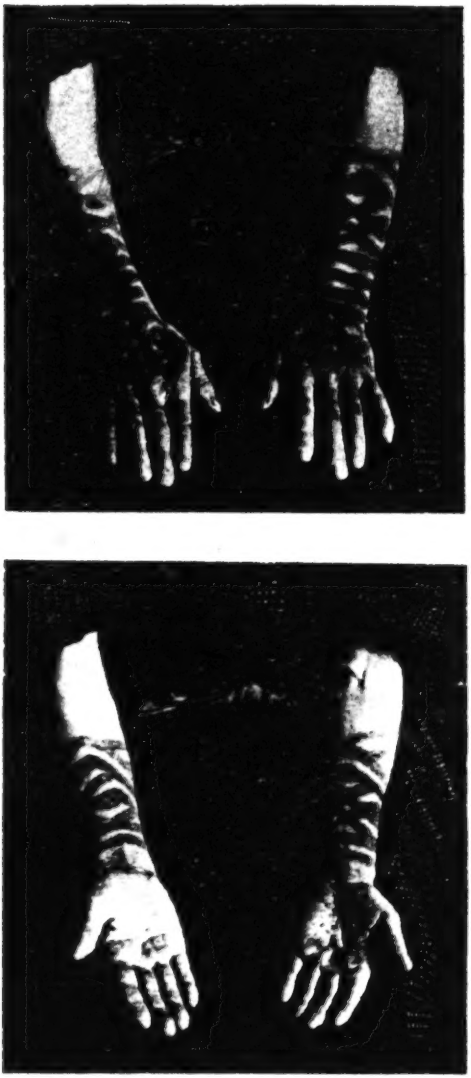

PLATE XXIX. TATTOOING ON HANDS AND ARMS OF A FEMALE MEDIUM (*TUSI*).

[p. 78, (M)]

EXORCISM

each arch a *takusa* (a bunch of grass, reeds and other herbs, suitable for *ukakik*) is laid. Two similar bunches are put beside each of the groups of *inau* along the riverside. Beside the *nusa* for the *pase kamui* two *takusa* are laid, made of an evergreen bamboo called *huttat*. All these are switches which will be used to purify the patient. Six water-worn stones are put near the backward-shaven *inau* for Chiu ra-pe Mat.

The ritual is a combination of prayer and of purification by fire, by brushing and stroking with switches of grasses or herbs, with river stones and with a sword, and by lustration with water. Insane persons, considered incurable, used to be dipped in the river, as I learn from elders who have tried this form of purification. Psychological troubles brought on by Pauchi Kamui are regarded as difficult to cure. When a female medium (*tusu*) possessed (*ituren*) by her familiar spirit pronounces Pauchi Kamui to be the evil spirit responsible for the disorder, a stiff fight is expected, and all resources are employed.

When the preparations are complete, the proceedings do not take long. After salutation and prayer to the water nymph, Mintuchi Kamui, the *ekashi* addresses the female spirit of the undercurrent in the same way, and afterwards the male spirit of the undercurrent. Salutations and prayers are made to all the *kamui* at their respective places, described above, and also to the chief of the 'evil' *inau*. The first arch, furthest away from the river, is set on fire, and the patient passes under it. When she has done so she is beaten six times by two women who strike her with switches of strong grass or some other herb such as *shinkep* (*Lespedeza bicolor*). This is repeated at the five other arches. At each stroke the women call softly '*fusa!*' or '*fsa!*' as a signal of expulsion.

The patient then undergoes further purification at each of the six groups of *inau* along the riverside. Two women each pick up a switch, dip it in the river, beat the patient and afterwards throw the switches in the river to carry away the contagion.

In the next procedure, which is used as a means of getting rid of ailments, especially defects of vision, the patient stands beside the backward-shaven *inau* of the female spirit of the undercurrent (Chiu ra-pe Mat). The two women take a stone in each hand and strike them together to warn the evil spirits that the spirit of the waters is about to act. The patient is stroked with the stones by

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(*iyokpe*) is drawn six times down the front of the patient with the point touching, but not cutting her clothes.

Approaching the end of the Pauchi Kamui exorcism the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa* and undergoes another purification, this time with the evergreen *huttat*, as befits the presence of an 'important' *kamui*, and, before entering the house, is finally purified with an ordinary switch. The outer garment is hung up outside, so that any vestiges of contagion may be dissipated. After the patient has entered the house the backward-shaven *inau* which has been offered to Kamui Fuchi is burnt on the hearth.

It will have been noticed that the numbers six and four are prominent in these proceedings. Six is more highly esteemed, as Batchelor shows by many examples in his books, especially in *The Ainu and Their Folklore*. There are six or nine wings on *inau* set up for good *kamui*, and four on the evil *inau*. In the *uepotara* just described, and some others, the evil *inau* are grouped in six sets of four each. Yet good *kamui* often get four ancestral *inau*. There are six arches and six stones, and the patient repeatedly receives six strokes with a switch.

The foregoing *uepotara* has been described at some length because it involves most of the resources at the disposal of Ainu elders. The procedures vary somewhat in detail, as each elder follows the traditions of his own ancestors. Personal knowledge and inquiries have assured me that Isonoash is a reliable informant, and I have presented his material at some length in the hope that shorter descriptions of other ceremonies will suffice.

In cases of disease the diagnosis is sometimes revealed to the patient in dreams, for example in the snake dreams of women suffering from incapacitating neuroses such as hysterical neuralgia, defective vision, headaches, paralysis or joint affections. It is usual to call a female medium (*tusu*), who decides which evil spirit is at work. The woman assumes a subjective state approaching that of a trance; an invocation by an elder often induces this. I have taken from dictation about fifty invocations relating to magico-religious operations in the prevention and treatment of mental and physical ailments, and hope to publish the texts at some future time.[1]

Spirits of the dead go normally to the Underworld, where they live in much the same fashion as on earth, but those who have

[1] Only a few of these texts have been found, and they are reproduced here in an appendix.—B.Z.S.

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the tail to sweep her body and purify it.[1] (See Pl. XXI, fig. 3.) It would seem that the rite has a genuinely cathartic effect, and I learnt from various elders that improvement usually took place after a few days or even a few hours. A sick woman may ask the elder for *tusu* rather than for *imu* treatment. In the *tusu* state the patient becomes possessed by the snake spirit of Kinashut Kamui. The elder consults the *kamui* before acceding to this request, and if the *kamui* approves the woman may become a medium (*tusu*).[2]

There is yet another means of curing the ailments attributed to possession by snakes, whereby a woman becomes a helper or nurse (*ikoinkara guru*), and thereby both relieves a complex and gains esteem. I am told that only women of specially good character are eligible; they become midwives, and though untrained are a great help to women in labour. The ceremonies are much like those of *imu* conversion.

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There is one more exorcism, and this is interesting on account not only of the means employed but of the remarkable nature of the *kamui* concerned, which is a hornet. While the ordinary wasp is thought to be vicious and quick to sting, the hornet (*shisoya*) is said to be tolerant, never stinging unless provoked, but terrible when its wrath is aroused. Even horses and bears which have disturbed a nest are said to have been killed. Yet it is believed to be lucky to have a nest in the house, and that the inmates are never stung.

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In this district and others in the south the hornet shares, though in much lesser degree, the repute of Kinashut Kamui as a spirit helper, but sometimes its *ramat*, indignant at being assaulted and losing its body, takes possession of somebody and causes sickness. This is said to be cured readily, for the hornet is amenable to the proper mode of exorcism. The following is an outline of its peculiar features, it being understood that, as in all these rituals, the approval of the important *kamui* must first be sought.

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A backward-shaven *inau* is set up at the chaff-thrown *nusa*, then a model of a hornet's nest, called *shisoya chisei*, is made of sacred shavings with two curled shavings attached, and this is hung on the *inau* to absorb virtue. After this, switches for purification are made of curled shavings, and lastly some grain, rice or millet is laid at the *nusa* ready for use. I was told that the grain is a token

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[1] For other forms of sickness and in the case of epidemics the snake effigy is woven from grass and its tail is used as a brush for purification.—N.G.M.

[2] See Appendix, p. 163.

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are animal deities. As it was only possible for Munro to obtain information from a few women who trusted him and his wife, the number of *kut* groups existing remains obscure. Nor is there any information indicating whether one deity was associated with more than one group.

Munro was told that Kamui Fuchi instructed A-e-oina Kamui, who in turn taught the Ainu, how to make the *upshoro-kut*, and that she also laid down all the regulations associated with them in the sacred traditions. In other accounts Kamui Fuchi is said to have given instructions to various female *kamui* who assumed animal form. It will be seen below (p. 147) that some of these regulations are not relevant to matrilineal exogamy, though Munro's informants insisted that they were taboos of the *kut*. Some women believed that their girdles were given directly by Kamui Fuchi, others maintained that they proved their descent from a particular animal deity. Two informants stated that no woman should approach the hearth unless she were wearing her *kut*. No woman should go near the caged sacred bear cub without it; if she did, the bear would show his disapproval by his hostile demeanour. The caged bear would also show his disapproval if a woman in a state of impurity—menstruation—were to come near him. In such cases a *tusu* would be consulted, and if the woman were found guilty she would be punished.

With great precautions for secrecy, Munro persuaded his women informants to make five different kinds of *kut* for him. These were woven from bast, which somewhat mitigated the impropriety of the task performed for a man and a foreigner. They were sent to Seligman, and have been deposited in the British Museum (Pl. XXVIII, figs. 1 and 2).

When Munro broached the subject with *ekashi*, with whom he was intimate, he was told that although they knew of the existence of the *kut* they had never seen one, and they affirmed the strictness of the rule of *kut* exogamy. Old women arrange marriages or investigate the *kut* inheritance of a prospective couple in order that the exogamy ruling should not be transgressed.

These facts led Munro to postulate totemism with matrilineal clans. In numerous letters he treated the matter as an hypothesis and related how he was searching for further evidence, both in existing custom and in ancient tradition. However, in his typescript for this book, and in an article he published in *Man*, No.

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Mr. Sugiura

states that the ability to become a midwife or a *tusu* (diviner) is inherited in the matrilineage. Of male property (*maeni-korpe*) the eldest son inherits the house and yard. The family treasures go to sons but Munro does not state how they were divided among them. According to Mr Sugiura, if there is no son to inherit the *maeni-korpe* it goes to a son-in-law or a stepson.

Before examining the evidence for patriliny and its relation to ancestor cult the meaning of the word *ekashi* must be considered. It is a title of respect, and in ordinary use refers to an elder. But it also means ancestor, as is clearly seen in the term *ekashi-ikir*. Munro translates the title Kamui Ekashi as Divine Ancestor. The *ekashi nusa* outside the house is the place where it was customary to bury elders of repute, and it is there that the ancestral cult is held at the Shinurapa Ceremony. Members of the household and honoured guests belonging to other *ekashi-ikir* may also make offerings to their ancestors. The householder's wife performs her ritual to her ancestresses and is followed by other related women who make their special offerings. Mr Kubodera says that the women who may take part in this rite, worshipping their respective ancestral lines, are the mother of the householder, his father's mother, his own wife, and the wife of the eldest son. Each of these women may be accompanied by a group of women in her own matrilineage. These visits are reciprocal, the women of the household being invited to Shinurapa held at all the houses of their female guests.

The Ainu had no family names before the Japanese introduced compulsory registration; most of the names adopted were Ainu place-names, often mis-spelt or altered by Japanese officials.

Munro found that, even among the elders whom he knew well, there was great reticence in speaking of the ancestors; their names were not even mentioned in their special worship. In the past there was a taboo on the names of the dead; in the large number of names recorded in marriages by Munro there were no repetitions. Names were usually descriptive epithets, references to current events or what might be termed nicknames. It would seem, however, that this taboo is still respected. Despite the vagueness of the information, Munro was impressed by the importance of the ancestor cult, especially as seen in the House-Warming Ceremony and the Shinurapa (Chapters VII and VIII). It might have been considered that the apparent lacunae in the account of an ancestor cult throughout this book marked a breakdown of the Ainu social

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dancing together they kept up their frenzied saltations to the point of complete exhaustion. Some are said to have died from fatigue, others to have danced into the hills and forests, sometimes perishing there. Discarding clothes, even women are said to have danced naked or almost so, whereas under normal conditions Ainu women would have killed themselves rather than expose their persons. Apart from feminine modesty, this is credible, since every Ainu woman wore a secret girdle. . . . But prohibitions counted for nothing while mob contagion pursued its flighty course. As in Europe, sexual licence is said to have occurred. . . . I was told by an *ekashi* that hunting, fishing and house-work were neglected, and abandoned children and adults died from inanition. For the time being, the established order of customs and mutual relations was disorganized. Wherever the epidemic spread, the same phenomena prevailed, closely resembling those in Europe but seemingly much exaggerated.

What circumstances conspired to start that amazing bolt from self-control and social restraint? The Ainu attribute it to a mischievous spirit, Pauchi Kamui, glamouring them and enticing them to their doom . . . but modern psychology teaches us to examine the conditions which may lead to emotional outbursts. The dancing mania of the Ainu followed upon an experience of enforced servitude . . . when their island came under the domination of the Matsumae daimyos. . . . Its resources were exploited by commandeering the Ainu—young women as well as men—for fishing and other enterprises, while those permitted to hunt had to pay heavy tribute in skins. . . . The Ainu, poorly armed and undisciplined, had no chance against samurai, whose swords put the fear of death on all who did not obey. . . .

Imu. The following is compiled from Munro's notes:

Munro studied twelve cases of *imu*, a form of psychoneurosis common among women. The usual symptoms are: eye trouble, headaches, neuralgia, and functional paralysis, accompanied by dreams and compulsive actions. The usual procedure is for a woman to consult a *tusu*, and a frequent diagnosis is that the illness is due to possession by an evil snake spirit. In that case, after Kamui Fuchi has been invoked, the snake spirit is called, either as Kinashut Kamui or as Nusa-koro Kamui. In the north, transmutation to *imu* condition may be sudden: in the south the process is more gradual. A snake image is made of curled shavings, and purification is performed with it (see Pl. XXI, fig. 3). When exorcism is finished, the subsequent outpouring of emotion is comparable to conversion. The patient is considered cured, but she retains *imu* behaviour. This behaviour (see Chapter IX, p. 108) is said not to be permanent, but in the twelve cases Munro examined it

APPENDIX I

158 continued to occur intermittently. There are certain advantages in being recognized as an *imu*; there is a camaraderie among *imu* women, and both adults and children are encouraged to laugh at them.

158 The transmutation of a neurosis to *tusu* is somewhat similar. The
791 evil spirit will be drawn out of her body by purification, and a good spirit will remain her guardian and her spirit guide when she is called
775 upon to act as medium. This is often Kinashut Kamui, or it may be a
825 'good fox' or a 'repulsive caterpillar', or a hornet, but it is never that of a deceased person as is commonly the case in Europe.—B.Z.S.

755 Translation of *Innono-itak* (prayer) to Kamui Fuchi before invoking
158 Kinashut Kamui, to procure transmutation of an incapacitating or
782 distressing neurosis to *Imu*

539 Kamui Fuchi, Iresu Kamui, concerning the health of this Ainu
791 woman, she has been ardently desired by an inferior relative of Kinashut Kamui who has enwrapped her body in the toils of his evil magic. If the *imu* talk can issue from her mouth and purification be done upon her, she shall be free to recover. Although she has severe sickness upon her and difficult trouble within, it can be disentangled and driven out from this Ainu woman, since Kinashut Kamui is exceedingly quick to hear an appeal. A messenger of Kamui Fuchi with *inau* can bear the message to Kinashut Kamui. Although there are very numerous relatives of Kinashut Kamui, he can discern the wrongdoer.

Doing *imu* talk through her mouth [as mouthpiece of Kinashut Kamui], being inspired to a flow of chatter by Kinashut Kamui, many children will be amused and will laugh aloud with great outbursts of laughter, Kinashut Kamui will probably be delighted [to hear the merriment].

This Ainu woman—her body fully cleared by sweeping away [the evil influence]—please give strength to her arms that she may work well in the fields. Make Kinashut Kamui to hear by messenger that a *kamui* – an inferior relative of Kinashut Kamui—making a great quarrel, with virulent power has tied up the Ainu person in the toils of evil magic. Doing purification from above, Kinashut Kamui by his *kamui takusa* may sweep away from the Ainu person [the evil magic]. Nusa-koro Kamui can use his *kamui takusa* through his dependent relatives [inferior relations]. Kinashut Tono [chief] by his own *takusa*, Nusa-koro Kamui through the *takusa* of his assistant deities, by their mutual magic force, by their united strength of arms this Ainu woman may have exorcising purification. That the Ainu person may recover through the united minds of the *kamui* and the brushing away [of evil magic] this is besought.

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Translation of *Innono-itak* (prayer) to Kinashut Kamui for *imu* transmutation from incapacitating or distressing neurosis

(This is preceded by the *innono-itak* to Kamui Fuchi and a very similar one to Nusa-koro Kamui which, however, conveys the request that he—Nusa-koro Kamui—will persuade Kinashut Kamui to obey the behest of Kamui Fuchi and counteract the evil done by his unruly lower relative, usually a snake of some kind. After this, Kinashut Kamui is directly invoked)—

Kinashut Tono [chief of the snakes] will probably have heard the message of Kamui Fuchi. Nusa-koro Kamui, listening to this invocation will probably turn his head this way [pay attention]. This Ainu woman, incontinently desired by your lower relative, has had evil magic put upon her, binding her body. Now as regards this wicked magic, after purification the *imu* talk will issue from the Ainu mouth. Prepare to remove the evil influence from the Ainu person. Kamui Fuchi will probably be thankful.

Translation of *Innono-itak* to Kamui Fuchi before calling Kinashut Kamui, for transmutation to *tusu* in case of a severe neurosis where *imu* could not be obtained by the correct rite

Kamui Fuchi, Iresu Kamui, the life of this Ainu woman has been incontinently sought by a lower relative of Kinashut Kamui. Hence the body of this Ainu woman has been bound up in the magic toils of an ill-tempered *kinashut*. Having applied purification throughout, *tusu* speech will issue from her mouth. If she has that speech, please look at the divine treasure in the Ainu [her] hand, for with the *inau*, the *kike chinoye inau*, she makes the woman's thankful gesture [*korai-mik*]. She will probably be joyful in her heart that the Ainu body may probably improve in health.

Translation of *Innono-itak* to Kinashut Kamui for transmutation to *tusu* when the *ekashi* has failed to induce the preferable *imu*

Kinashut Tono, it seems that one of your many lower relations seeks incontinently to possess the body of this Ainu woman, because he has tied up her whole body till now with evil magic. Kinashut Tono can discover among his own relations the evilly disposed one. Purification completed, the Ainu body having recovered, afterwards *tusu* speech will issue from her mouth. If so, the Ainu master [of her home] will be thankful. With *chinoye inau kike*, this Ainu woman with *tusu* tongue and upraising hands will reverently make offering, giving thanks to Kinashut Kamui as guardian of her life. Accordingly, you are entreated to give commands to your inferior relatives.